

THE KINGDOM OF CHIMOR

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Chimor is a rendering in Spanish letters of the native name of the valley of Trujillo (Santa Catalina, or Moche) on the North Coast of Peru. The name came into our histories of Peru through Quechua, with the result that it is more familiar to most modern readers in the form Chimo, or Chimú. Chimú has become something of a technical term in Andean archaeology, however, which gives me a practical as well as a sentimental reason for preferring the native form to designate the kingdom which was built up around the valley of Trujillo in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹

The land of Chimor has interested archaeologists since the early 19th century because of the large quantities of spectacular pottery yielded by its tombs and the impressive size of its adobe ruins; so much field work has been done there that it is now one of the best known archaeological areas in South America, particularly as regards some of the earlier periods. Very recently it has been the scene of capable community studies by Gillin (Moche) and Holmberg, Muelle, Núñez del Prado and others (Virú). Yet between the archaeological reports and the work of the social anthropologists lies a period of some five hundred years about which we know very little. This period is his-

¹ The form *Chimor* is given in the Anonymous History of 1604, discussed below. Carrera, in his Yunga Grammar, spells it with an inverted *h* to indicate that the initial affricate was not pronounced exactly like the Spanish *ch*. Its exact sound is not clear from his description, but perhaps it was something like the *tr* with fricative *r* heard in some dialects of Andean Spanish (Carrera, 1939, p. 62). All chroniclers before Garcilaso de la Vega (1607) spell the Quechua form *Chimo*; most subsequent writers have preferred Garcilaso's convention with the *u*. As the Quechua sound is pronounced about halfway between Spanish *o* and Spanish *u* one of these spellings is about as good as the other. Gillin (1947, p. 48) records the form *Chimoy* in modern Moche Spanish.

toric; that is, it is covered more or less by written records; and it is highly important both because it connects the archaeological and ethnological work done in the area and because of its significance to Andean culture history in general, as is brought out below. I am confident, on the basis of experience with other areas, that much manuscript material on the history of Chimor remains undiscovered in Peruvian and Spanish archives, but I have had no opportunity to look for it. The present paper is an attempt to sketch the culture history of the North Coast on the basis of a survey of the known historical material, which is widely scattered in out of the way places and has never before been brought together. The principal purpose of the paper is to present information and to call attention to problems, but secondarily it is designed to emphasize the importance of properly directed historical investigations for Andean anthropology.

The four most important historical sources on Chimor are the following:

(1) The *Arte de la lengua yunga* written by Father Fernando de la Carrera, Cura of Reque in the valley of Lambayeque, and printed in Lima in 1644. "Yunga" is the Quechua name for the language which I will call Muchic, and which was spoken in the northern half of the kingdom of Chimor. Father Carrera says nothing directly about history, but a good many interesting details of cultural background can be worked out from his definitions and grammatical notes. It is a great pity that the good Cura's promised dictionary of Muchic either was never written or has since been lost. I have used the excellent modern edition published in Tucumán by Radames A. Altieri (Carrera, 1939).

(2) Some chapters of the *Coronica moralizada* of Fr. Antonio de la Calancha, published in Barcelona in 1638. The original is a bibliographical rarity, and no complete modern edition has ever appeared. However, the relevant chapters for our purpose have been summarized in English by Philip Ainsworth Means (1931, pp. 56-63, with some omissions) and are thus fairly accessible. Calancha's material consists chiefly of ethnographical notes on the valley of Pacasmayo, with particular attention to religion. It is a precious source of information on how the people of Chimor lived and includes a few historical notes. In addition to Means' summary I have used the copy of Calancha in the Yale University Library.

3) A collection of legends and dynastic history of the valley of Lambayeque preserved by Miguel Cabello Balboa in his *Miscelánea antártica* written in 1586. The *Miscelánea* is still in manuscript, the father of the few modern copies being an 18th century one in the Rich Collection at the New York Public Library. An atrocious French abridgement was published in 1840 and there is a more recent retranslation of the French into Spanish (1920). Means has published a translation of part of the Lambayeque material into English, but his version is not entirely reliable (Means, 1931, pp. 51-53). I have used a photostat of the New York manuscript. Among other things, Father Cabello gives the most circumstantial and inherently probable account of the Inca conquests in northern Peru and Ecuador and furnishes the best dates we are ever likely to have for events in the last century before the Spanish conquest (see Rowe, 1945 and 1946).

(4) An Anonymous History of Trujillo written in 1604 of which the fragmentary first chapter contains a brief summary of the history of Chimor. The chapter in question was published by Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte in 1936 from a manuscript in Lima and republished in 1942. This document is far and away the most important of our four sources and the least known of them all.²

² It is so important, and at the same time so brief, that I venture to insert a translation:

"...in this house he remained for the space of one year, performing... the said ceremonies and of the communication that he had with... Indians whom he conquered he learned the language, and they obeyed him and gave him their daughters. From that point he came to take the name of Chimor Capac.

"It is not known whence came this... except that he gave them to understand that a great lord... was, had sent him to govern this land... from across the sea. The yellow powders which he used in his ceremonies and the cotton cloths which he wore to cover his shameful parts are well known in these lands and the balsa of logs is used on the coast of Payta and Tumbez, from which it is presumed that this Indian did not come from a very distant region.

"This Taycanamo had a son who was called Guacri-caur, who acquired more power than his father, conquering the Indians and important men of this valley. He had a son who was called Nançen-pinco who conquered in the upper part of the valley toward its mountain headwaters and likewise overran the coast to the south as far as a town named Mayao, where the Villa of Santa now stands, 18 leagues from this city [Trujillo], and to the north the valley of Chicama as far as Pacasmayo close to the Villa of Saña, 24 leagues from this city.

"After this Guacri-caur seven rulers succeeded him in order, all of them his



The north coast of Peru, which formed the Kingdom of Chimor, is a sort of American Egypt. It consists of a narrow strip of desert, 20 to 100 miles wide, between the Pacific and the western slopes of the Andes, crossed here and there by short rivers which start in the rainier mountains and provide a series of green and fertile oases admirably suited to either primitive or modern agriculture. The desert is one of the driest in the world; much of it supports no plant life whatever, and the contrast between the emerald valleys and the brown and cream of the rocks and sand turning to beautiful blues and pale

children and descendants, until the time of Minchançaman who was the conqueror of the coast towns to Carballlo and Tumbez, more than 200 leagues of land. In his time the Inca called Topa Yupanqui came down from Cuzco with a great force of armed men and conquered all the coast and made himself lord of all Minchançaman's land, killing many Indians and taking away the gold and silver and other things that they had. He did the greatest damage in this valley of Chimor because of the resistance he met with, and he carried Minchançaman away to Cuzco where he married him to one of his daughters. Since he had heard that Minchançaman had a son named Chumun-caur who was in the valley of Guaura with his mother, who was a lady of that valley named Chanquirguanguan, he sent to summon him and ordered him to go and govern this land in place of his father Minchançaman, who died in Cuzco [last phrase crossed out in the ms.]. He ordered him to pay tribute, which he did until the Spaniards came, sending him every year to Cuzco silver, clothing and other things, and women, daughters of the nobility.

"This Chumun-caur had a son named Guaman-chumo who governed the whole land; at his death his son Ancocuyuch succeeded him; in his time the towns of the above-mentioned coast were already divided in feudal holdings (cacicazgos) because as sons multiplied partitions were made between them to give each town its ruler with the consent and blessing of the Inca to whom they were subject.

"At the death of Ancocuyuch his brother Caja-çimçim took over the power and lordship of this valley of Chimor; in his time the Spaniards entered the land and subdued all the feudal lords (caciques) beginning at Tumbez which was the first port where they disembarked in the year 1513 [sic, for 1528]. This Caja-çimçim became a Christian and took the name of Don Martín; when he died they buried him in the church of Santa Ana in this city. The next night the Indians took the body out of its grave and carried it away to bury it according to the rite of his ancestors, and it has not been possible to find out where it is.

"After this Caja-çimçim, six Christian caciques, descendants of the former ones, have succeeded, down to Don Antonio Chaygar who is living today and is cacique of this valley of Chimor."

(Vargas Ugarte, 1936, pp. 231-233; 1942, pp. 55-57. The title *Chimor Capac* simply means "King of Chimor"; *Capac* is a Quechua word meaning, as an adjective, "rich and powerful", but as a noun (as used here), "king".)

purples in the distance is very striking indeed. Rain falls at very rare intervals, say once in thirty years, and when it does fall it is a major catastrophe; the houses of today like those of five hundred years ago are lightly built of canes and mud to afford protection against sun and wind, and the rain destroys them as surely as an earthquake.³ The climate is exceedingly mild and would be ideal except for the low clouds and heavy fog that shut out the sun for weeks at a time in the months of northern summer.

The coast is a "plain" only by contrast with the rugged mountains behind it; the desert is hilly for the most part, although there are some flat stretches. The valleys in contrast are almost perfectly flat, with here and there a yellow mound marking the site of an ancient town or building. The flatness of the valley plains makes irrigation relatively easy, and irrigation is probably about as old as agriculture here. Before the Spanish conquest, large scale irrigation projects greatly extended the cultivable area of many of the valleys, but much of the reclaimed land was neglected under the Colony and was allowed to go back to the desert.

One of the most important factors in the life of the coast was, and is, the sea. The Peruvian coast is washed by the Humboldt Current, a river of cold water which follows the coast northward until it turns out into the Pacific south of Piura. The Current swarms with edible fish, and fishing was nearly as important as agriculture to the ancient inhabitants. Trees being nearly unknown on most of the coast, the native fishermen made shift with boats of reeds tied in long bundles that had to be brought ashore and dried out about every two weeks. Only in the far north were better boats possible; ports like Paita and Tumbez were near enough to the balsa-wood forests of the Gulf of Guayaquil to use the great sailing rafts of the north, which were "boats" almost as efficient as the Spanish ones which brought Pizarro southward in the 1520's.⁴

³ Cf. Cobo, II, 16; Holstein, 1927.

⁴ See Lothrop, 1932, pp. 235-238 for a fine description of these balsa rafts, which were called *jangadas* in the local Spanish of the 18th century. The reed boats are described in detail by Gillin, 1947, pp. 34-35. Their antiquity on the north coast is proved by representations on Early Chimú pots, which should dispose of Gillin's suggestion that they were brought from Lake Titicaca in Tihuanaco times (1947, p. 157).

In addition to fish, the sea supplied guano. Thousands of cormorants nested on the small islands off the coast, and in the course of ages their excrement formed a cap on the islands sometimes more than 50 feet thick. The coastal Indians used the guano for fertilizer and left behind them many pots and statues of carved wood which came to light when the guano was carried away by the shipload to Europe in the 19th century.⁵

The northern end of the Peruvian coast runs northeast into the Gulf of Guayaquil which is rainy and wet. Almost at the end of the desert is the small valley of Tumbez, northern outpost of the Kingdom of Chimor and the gateway through which Pizarro entered the Inca Empire. Southwest of Tumbez the coast turns south around the oil-rich elbow of Talara to where the port of Paita serves the great double valley of the Chira and Piura rivers. The Chira valley was called Pohechos, Pocheos, Lachira, Solana or Sullana at the time of the Conquest, while that of Piura was called Catacaos, Tangarara, or San Miguel this last after the first Spanish "city" founded in Peru, which after many changes of site became modern Piura. These different names refer to peoples or towns for the most part; the standardizing of valley names is a modern invention in Peru. The people of these valleys were called Tallanas; their language was probably that which Calancha calls Sec; it is gone, and we know nothing about it.⁶

Below Piura is the desert of Sechura, and the coast turns to run southeast all the way to Lima. The first settlement is in the oasis of Olmos at the foot of the Andes on a little river which never reaches the sea; Calancha's not very clear description of the coast languages suggests that its inhabitants spoke a language somewhat distantly related to the Muchic of their southern neighbors. Beyond Olmos is the great multiple valley of Lambayeque, watered by several rivers. Its divisions from north to south are given by Cieza (1922, ch. 67): Motupe, Jayanca, Túcume, Cinto; then Lambayeque proper, and

⁵ The story of guano is very well told by Murphy, 1925.

⁶ Calancha, 1938, p. 550; bk. III, ch. 2; Cieza, 1922, ch. 58; Cabello Ms., bk. III, ch. 17; Means, 1931, p. 114. The short word list attributed by Spruce to the Sec language has scant linguistic value; it was collected at various places all over the north coast, and there is no certainty that all the words are from the same language. See Buchwald, 1918, pp. 231-233.

Collique, through which flows the river of Reque. The next valley is the smaller one of Saña, and the next the multiple valley of Pacasmayo with the river of Jequetepeque in the center; beyond it we come to Chicama. All the people from Motupe to Chicama spoke a language which Calancha calls Muchic, and which Father Carrera, author of the only grammar of it that has come down to us, calls by the Quechua name of Yunga. Carrera estimates that 40,000 people spoke it in the early 17th century; twenty years ago there were still a few old people in the town of Eten who remembered it.⁷

South of Chicama is the valley of Chimor itself, called also Moche, Santa Catalina and Trujillo. Next comes the small valley of Guañape, called Virú in modern times, and the still smaller one of Chao. Calancha calls the language of these valleys Quingnam; to judge from the few names that are all we have left of it, it was a dialect of Muchic. It was still spoken in Moche in the valley of Trujillo in the 1860's when Squier collected a small vocabulary, but neither this nor any other vocabulary was ever published. Calancha says that Quingnam was spoken all the way to Lima, but it is not at all clear whether it was the native language or simply a common medium for people who spoke different languages at home. The latter possibility seems much more likely. The same author mentions another language on the coast which he calls "la Pescadora" (Fisherman's language), of which he says only that the pronunciation was extremely difficult.⁸

The Santa River, which lies south of the valley of Chao, is the longest of the coast rivers. It drains the great Callejón de Huaylas between the Black and White Cordilleras, and for the greater part of its length is a highland river. Its coastal valley is fairly large, however, and includes the towns of Santa and Chimbote, the latter name being sometimes applied to the valley also. The ford of the Santa River was one of the most serious obstacles on the Coast Road. Beyond Santa is the small valley of Nepeña, and then that of Casma or Guambacho. Then follows Huarmey, and then the double valley of Parmonga (Paramonga, Parmunca, Fortaleza) and Guaman (Barranca, Pativilca or

⁷ Calancha, *ibid.*, and p. 606, bk. III, ch. 14; Carrera, 1939, pp. 7-9 and introduction; Larco, 1938-9, vol. 2, pp. 47-82.

⁸ Calancha, *ibid.*; Squier, 1877, p. 169; Cieza, 1922, ch. 68-70; Vargas Ugarte, 1936, pp. 231-233.

Supe). Next we find Huaura (Guaura, Huacho) and beyond it, Chancay. The next valley is that of Lima, but here we reach the furthest point in the Kingdom of Chimor, Carabayllo (Carbaillo) on the Chillón River that marks the northern edge of the Lima valley.⁹

At its greatest extent, the Kingdom of Chimor included all these valleys—an airline distance of over 620 miles from Tumbez to Carabayllo. It is a territory that many modern states would envy for size and resources. To complete our picture of the land, we may add a word about some of the neighbors of Chimor.

The mountain hinterland is exceedingly broken, especially to the north, and before the Inca conquest was divided among a large number of small tribes speaking different languages. The northern tribes were poor and weak, but Cajamarca, inland from Pacasmayo, was a powerful state allied to Chimor. It is uncertain how far south the power of Cajamarca extended; perhaps to Huamachuco. The Callejón de Huaylas, on the upper Santa River, was well populated and rich, but apparently not much of a military power. On the coast to the south of Chimor, the valley of Lima was an important military power, and to the south of it the valleys of Mara (Mala), Runahuana (Cañete) and Chincha formed the last state to resist the Inca conquest.

It is rather curious how reluctant archaeologists have been to consider the valleys of Chimor (or indeed any coastal valleys at all) as possible centers for the origin of Andean civilization. Certainly, compared with the high mountain valleys or the rain-drenched Amazon forests they would have seemed a veritable paradise to the first inhabitants, and there are few places in the New World that offer such natural inducements to settled life—abundant fish, soil that will grow almost anything, and a mild and temperate climate. Then too, if there is anything at all in the widespread anthropological superstition that the center of most complex culture was probably the center of invention, the north coast is a likely place for the origin of many things. Technologically, in such matters as metallurgy, weaving, ir-

⁹ Cieza, 1922, ch. 70; Calancha, 1638, bk. III, ch. 18 and 19; Vargas Ugarte, 1936, pp. 230-233. We know nothing of the languages spoken in these valleys, but Cobo says that there was a linguistic boundary between Carabayllo and Lima. Cobo, 1882, ch. 7, pp. 41-42.

rigation and town planning the coastal states led the whole Andean area until the Incas came down from Cuzco to conquer and to learn.

The north coast has been fortunate in being the theater of the most concentrated archaeological exploration ever carried out in Peru, and when the full reports on the Virú Valley Project of 1946 are published, several chapters in its cultural history can be filled in. The preliminary summary (Willey, 1947) gives some hints of what the work will mean, and the hints are sufficiently startling. At Huaca Prieta in Chicama valley, Junius Bird has found an early culture without pottery, and with agriculture based on squash, lucuma, gourds and cotton. The absence of maize, potatoes and yuca (sweet manioc) from this list should deal a hard blow to the assumption that American agriculture must have originated with the cultivation of one of the plants that was staple at the time of the Spanish conquest. If agriculture need not have started where maize was first domesticated, then there is no particular reason why it should not have started on the north coast.

The earliest type of pottery on the north coast is of a general Chavín type, related to other early styles all over Peru. From it developed local styles in the different valleys, culminating in the central part of our area in the superb art of Early Chimu (Mochica) which is found from Chicama to Nepeña. The center of this style seems to have been in the valleys of Chimor (Moche) and Chicama, and the culture it represents is important to us because it was directly ancestral to that of the Kingdom of Chimor, which is known archaeologically as Late Chimu.¹⁰ The differences between the two arts remind one forcibly of the differences between Greek art and Roman.

About the life and customs of the Early Chimu people we know little more than what can be deduced from studying the marvelous representative drawing and modelling on their pots, a task which Larco Hoyle started but has never finished.¹¹ There is much less uni-

¹⁰ See Larco, 1938-9. The word "Mochica" is probably derived from "Muchic" (the name of a language discussed above) rather than from "Moche" (the town in the valley of Chimor). It appears first in Carrera (1939, p. 2) as a name of the language, and its application to the archaeological culture also called Early Chimu or Proto Chimu is probably a contribution of Larco's. The origin of the names "Muchic" and "Moche" is obscure, but it is highly improbable that either one is Quechua (cf. Gillin, 1947, p. 12).

¹¹ Larco, 1938-9. This kind of study requires considerable caution, however.

formity in the Early Chimu style than in Late Chimu, and this might be the result of the lack of a strong central government. I am less sure than Willey is that the flooding of Virú Valley by Early Chimu culture necessarily implies political conquest (Willey, 1947, p. 237), but in the complete absence of historical records for the period we will probably never know.

The break between Early and Late Chimu is marked by Coast Tiahuanaco influence, coming almost certainly from the south. When the Late Chimu style definitely emerges, it is a sort of fusion of the Early Chimu tradition with certain Coast Tiahuanaco ideas. Given the nature of the Coast economy (permanent agriculture on the basis of irrigation) it seems highly unlikely that the bulk of the population changed through migration at any time, though there may have been many cases of changes of rulers through conquest.

With so much archaeological and speculative background, let us see what the natives of Chimir had to say about their own past—in so far as the meager record permits. The people of each valley had some sort of tradition to account for their origin, and we have several of these stories which sound almost like history in the pages of Cabello Balboa and the 1604 manuscript, much as the legends of the founding of Rome do in the pages of Livy (or in most of our school books for that matter). Like Livy's legends, however, the north coast ones are partly explanations of monuments and customs whose origins have been forgotten, and partly just stories to entertain. To interpret them, we cannot go far wrong if we follow the principle that if a story explains the origin of a shrine or custom, or if the hero becomes a divinity or disappears instead of dying, then it belongs to the realm of legend. Of course, its cultural importance is not in the least diminished.

According to Cabello, the Tallanas and the Olmos said that their ancestors had come from the highlands, but he gives no further details. Perhaps they did, or the story may be simply a reflection of their descendants' worship of distant mountain peaks.

For the valleys of Lambayeque, Cabello tells the famous story of

To apply the linguistic and historical information that we have for the conquest period and later to the interpretation of Early Chimu (Mochica) designs as Larco has done is a little too much like assuming what you set out to prove.

Naymlap; it is a good story, and it will bear some analysis. Briefly, the story is as follows: Naymlap came from the far south on a fleet of balsas with his wife Ceterni, a harem, a group of court attendants, and a green stone idol named Yampallec. This idol represented him, was named for him, and gave its name to the valley of Lambayeque. Naymlap landed at the mouth of the Faquisllanga river and established himself at Chot. When he died, it was reported that he had taken wings and flown away. His son Cium succeeded him, built a palace, and married Zolzdoni. Other sons settled other valleys in the Lambayeque area: Nor settled Cinto, Cala settled Túcume, and a fourth son settled Collique. Jayanca was settled by Naymlap's court feather-cloth maker, Llapchiluli (or Llapchillulli). Cium eventually disappeared.¹²

The Naymlap story is referred to independently in a curious history of the parish of Mórrope written by its cura, Father Rubiños y Andrade, in 1781. Father Rubiños spells the names of the characters differently; the hero and his wife are called Namla and Sotenic, while his son's name is given as Suim, and the son's wife as Ciernuncacum. This author adds the information that Sotenic is the name of a large huaca (ruin) near the beach where the party landed.¹³

Here some philological comments are called for. Father Carrera tells us that the native name for Lambayeque was Nam paxillæc (1939, p. 63). Cabello says that the name Lambayeque was derived from Yampallec, which was the name of Naymlap's idol. Yampallec is almost certainly a corruption of Nam paxillæc, judging both from its form and the meaning attributed to it. Now, Cabello also says that Yampallec meant "image and statue of Naymlap". It would be logical under these circumstances to expect the name of the hero and the name of his statue to have some morpheme in common; they do not, unless we assume that the *y* in Naymlap belongs before the *a* instead of after (this sort of metathesis is not uncommon in Cabello's rendering of native names). We then have a form Nam-lap the practical

¹² Cabello ms., III, 17; cf. Means, 1931, pp. 51-53. The phrase I have translated "from the far south" is, in the original, "de la parte suprema de este Pirú". Means translates this phrase incorrectly as from the *north*. See Rowe, 1945, p. 279.

¹³ Rubiños y Andrade, 1936, pp. 361-364.

identity of which with Father Rubiños' Namla should serve to establish it beyond reasonable doubt.¹⁴

Chot is almost certainly the ruin called Huaca Chotuna in modern times where some interesting relief carvings in adobe were found a few years ago. The huaca of Sotenic is identified by Brüning as the one now called Huaca de la Cruz, near San José, the native name of which he gives as Sioternic, a form probably closer to the original than either Sotenic or Ceterni, both of which seem to be derived from it. The "palace" built by Cium (or Suim) was probably another huaca.¹⁵

The story as a whole, then, seems to be little more than an explanation of the origin of the inhabitants of the various districts of Lambayeque valley and of their monuments. Nam-lap and Sioternic gave their names to important shrines and it seems quite possible that their sons did also and that only the general loss of Muchic place names on the north coast prevents their identification. We may conclude then that the "Naymlap" story is pure legend. It may even be of relatively late origin.

Following the story of Naymlap, Cabello names a series of his descendants who he says reigned over the valley of Lambayeque; the dynasty was ended through the sin of Fempellec (or Femllep or Fem-pallec —the manuscript uses all three forms). This ruler wanted to move the idol Nam paxllæc from its shrine at Chot; as a temptation, a beautiful woman appeared to him in a vision and seduced him, whereupon it rained for 30 days and a year of sterility and famine followed. The priests tied Fempellec's hands and threw him into the sea, after which the valley was without a ruler until it was conquered by the

¹⁴ This emendation was suggested by Brüning (1922, pp. 19-22) though he got the *l* and *p* transposed. The translation "water bird" suggested by Rubiños is impossible, however; *la* is water, but the word for bird is *ñaiñ* which would not give *ñam*, and in Muchic the attributive precedes (Carrera, 1939, pp. 18, 68). The sound represented by *æ* in Carrera's spelling was quite possibly an unrounded lower mid central vowel such as occurs in a number of Colombian Indian languages. Other spelling conventions usually represent it by Spanish *u* or *e*.

¹⁵ On Chot: Brüning, 1922, pp. 17 and 27; Kroeber, 1930, p. 93, plates 18 and 30; 1944, pp. 73-74, plate 33; Horkheimer, 1944, pp. 41-42, figs. 4-6. On Sotenic: Brüning, 1922, p. 18; Kroeber, 1930, pp. 92-93; Horkheimer, 1944, p. 19. Compare Vargas Ugarte's comments on the story of Naymlap, 1942b, pp. 475-78.

armies of Chimor. Fempellec sounds about as legendary as Nam-lap; as he is a villain he probably gave his name to no huaca, but it would be interesting to know if his predecessors had done so. If the other names in the list are simply huaca names then the very existence of the dynasty of Nam-lap becomes doubtful and Means and I were both very gullible to try to assign it to an archaeological period.

The Anonymous History of 1604 gives a somewhat similar origin story for the valley of Chimor but it is unfortunately incomplete at the beginning due to damage in the manuscript. As nearly as I can restore it the story is as follows: A man named Taycanamo or Tacaynamo came to Chimor on a log balsa of the type used along the Gulf of Guayaquil. He was dressed in a cotton breechclout and brought with him certain yellow powders which he used in ceremonies. He said that he had been sent by a great lord from across the sea to govern the land of Chimor, but did not say exactly whence he came. He spent a year after his arrival in a building (probably a shrine) where he performed certain ceremonies with his yellow powders. During this time he learned the local language and was accepted as ruler by the inhabitants, whereupon he took the name of "King of Chimor". The dynasty which ruled the valley until well into the Colonial period was descended from him.

Taycanamo reminds one even more of Manco Capac than of Nam-lap in that his "descendants" were still pointed out in historic times. He is perhaps a culture hero who introduced important ceremonies, founded shrines, and taught the people how to dress, assimilated to the founder of a dynasty. While we may accept the man as a real person (somebody had to found the dynasty) the preserved details of his life are probably mythical.

This sceptical treatment of the north coast origin legends is necessary to clear the ground. What follows is history —rather threadbare history, it is true, for our sources are scanty, but fairly reliable to judge by the substantial agreement we find in the fragments. Whole chapters of Oriental history are based on less. The story covers over a hundred years before the Spanish conquest, and it has not previously been reconstructed.

The City of Chimor was at the great site now called Chanchan, between Trujillo and the sea, and we may assume that Taycanamo

founded his kingdom there. His son, Guaci-caur, conquered the lower part of the valley and was succeeded by a son named Ñançen-pinco who really laid the foundations of the Kingdom by conquering the head of the valley of Chimor and the neighboring valleys of Saña, Pacasmayo, Chicama, Virú, Chao and Santa. The Anonymous History says that his power ran from the town of Saña in the north to the town of Mayao (modern Santa) in the south, being a total distance of 42 leagues (say 125 miles). Seven rulers succeeded Ñançen-pinco down to the time of Minchançaman who was ruling at the time of the Inca conquest.

These meager dynastic details enable us to put an approximate date to Ñançen-pinco's conquests. According to Cabello Balboa's conservative and probably reliable chronology, the Inca conquest took place between 1462 and 1470. Now, the Anonymous History gives the number of caciques of the same dynasty who ruled between the Spanish conquest and 1604, ten rulers in about 140 years. Applying this same ratio of rulers to years to the seven rulers who preceded Minchançaman we get a date about 1370 for Ñançen-pinco, and can put the founding of the Chimu kingdom somewhere in the first half of the 14th century.¹⁶

The great conqueror of the dynasty was the last independent king of Chimor, Minchançaman, the "Chimo Capac" of the Inca historians. The Anonymous History merely says that he conquered all the coast from Tumbez to Carabayllo, but some additional details can be pieced together from other sources. Lambayeque must have been conquered by Minchançaman's predecessor, or else in the conqueror's own first campaign, for it had had three Chimu governors (Pongmassa, Pallesmassa and Oxa) by the time of the Cajamarca campaign of 1462 (Cabello, ms. III, 17). The Chimu advance in the north reached the limits of the desert coast, but in the south it seems to have been stopped by the military power of the great valley of Lima, capital Maranga, just beyond Carabayllo. The attack on Lima was led by a general named Querrutumi who won three victories before he was finally

¹⁶ As Inca history (as distinct from legend) begins early in the 15th century (see Rowe, 1945) this is a respectable antiquity for Chimor. It is indeed a pity that we do not have more details to fill in our bare framework.

beaten; he committed suicide at the hill of La Campana between Chimor and Chicama.¹⁷

In the mountains, Chimor had an effective alliance with Cajamarca which seems to have been a powerful state also, even if considerably smaller than Chimor.

In estimating just how effective the cultural control of Chimor really was we can draw on some archaeological observations. Kroeber reports that Late Chimu pottery is extremely abundant and homogeneous from Piura to Casma; there is less in Huarmey, a cemetery of the style in Supe, and beyond that sporadic traces of Late Chimu all the way down the coast to Nazca, far beyond the limits of Minchançaman's conquests. The picture is complicated historically, however, by the existence in Chancay of a vigorous local style which spread into several neighboring valleys, probably without implying any political control. Some Late Chimu pieces are also reported from cemeteries at Cajamarca.¹⁸

Cabello puts the southern frontier of Chimor at Huarmey and Calancha puts it at Parmonga, the latter quite possibly following the generally unreliable Garcilaso. On the other hand, the Anonymous History speaks of a son of Minchançaman's living at Huaura with his mother, and Calancha himself mentions the Lima campaign. Probably Minchançaman's control of these southern valleys was real enough but of short duration.¹⁹

It was historical dogma both in Cuzco and in Chimor that before the appearance of the historic dynasties the Andean area had been without kingship, divided into small communities ruled over by prestige chiefs, a situation little better than anarchy in the minds of all good monarchists, whether subjects of Minchançaman or of His Imperial Majesty Charles V. Of course the king's armies brought the blessings of civilization to his benighted neighbors, asking only the surrender of their liberties in return. For propaganda purposes it was obviously better to minimize those cases in which conquered valleys had hereditary rulers already, and there were probably many more

¹⁷ Calancha, 1638, p. 562, bk. III, cap. 4. See also Cobo, 1882, pp. 41-42 (cap. 7); Pachacuti, 1879, pp. 274-5.

¹⁸ Kroeber, 1926, pp. 11, 23-29; 1930, p. 113.

¹⁹ Cabello ms., III, 16; Calancha, 1638, p. 550, bk. III, ch. 2; Garcilaso, I, vi, 32.

such cases than have come down to us. Still, there is no doubt that the institution of kingship showed a great expansion in the 15th century in the Andes, and it was this institution which made possible the rise of the great historic states, just as happened in Europe about the same time.

Other kingdoms were being formed at the same time as that of Chimor (Chincha, Cuzco, Chucuito), and it was obvious that the centers of expansion would one day come into conflict. The great burst of conquering energy that took place in Cuzco after the defeat of the Chanca invasion about 1438 brought the showdown, for in twenty short years Inca Pachacuti made himself master of the whole highland part of southern Peru. It is very possible that Minchançaman's sudden expansion of his north coast kingdom was prompted by the growing threat from the south; that he was hoping to keep pace with Pachacuti so that when they did meet it would be on something like equal terms.

In the end, the clash came in a way neither ruler had planned. About 1461, Pachacuti sent out his half brother, General Capac Yupanqui, on what was apparently intended to be a raiding and exploring expedition into central Peru. The expedition did some fighting around Ayacucho and then went on north by way of the valley of Jauja to the Callejón de Huaylas. They had orders to turn back at the Yanamayo (Black River), and had nearly reached it when the expedition was disrupted by a jealous intrigue which caused the desertion of a contingent of Chanca troops. The deserters fled northeast over the mountains toward the fastnesses of the Huallaga, hotly pursued by the main body of the army. The Chancas made good their escape, however, leaving General Capac Yupanqui in a serious predicament. If he returned to Cuzco to report, he would have to face charges of letting the deserters escape and of crossing the Yanamayo while following them; on the other hand, he was meeting little resistance, and nearby to the north was the rich state of Cajamarca. Thinking to redeem himself by a great victory, Capac Yupanqui turned north.

King Cusmanco of Cajamarca made a vigorous effort to organize his neighbors to meet the new threat, and asked help of his ally, Minchançaman. It is quite likely that the Inca expansion to the north was the reason for this alliance in the first place; at any rate, Minchan-

çaman sent a detachment under a prince of his own house to help Cusmanco. Capac Yupanqui's irresponsible raid had brought the two greatest states of the Andes to open war.

The fighting at Cajamarca was very severe and the men of Chimor distinguished themselves in it, but in the end the Inca raiders were victorious, Cusmanco was slain and Cajamarca taken. Capac Yupanqui left a strong garrison at Cajamarca and turned south in triumph, sending a report ahead.

Pachacuti was justifiably angry at the turn events had taken. Capac Yupanqui's victory, and the garrison he had left at Cajamarca, committed the Inca state to a lightning expansion for which Pachacuti was probably not ready and a war with Chimor which he had hoped to postpone. In addition, Pachacuti had usurped the throne himself and was in no position to condone successful disobedience by a half-brother whose claim to the royal seat was nearly as strong as his own. Capac Yupanqui was put to death by Pachacuti's order before he ever reached Cuzco.

Even with the disobedient general out of the way, however, the obligations he had created remained, and the next year Pachacuti fitted out a new expedition to relieve the garrison of Cajamarca. It was put under the command of his bastard son Topa Capac, assisted by Pachacuti's two half-brothers, Auqui Yupanqui and Tillca Yupanqui, and Topa Inca, heir to the throne, was sent along for the experience, probably with nominal command of the whole force.

The garrison at Cajamarca was separated from the nearest Inca outposts by some five hundred miles of unsubdued territory, and a large part of the Inca domain northwest of Cuzco was very lightly held. The province of Quechuas, for instance, which lay right across the northern road, was merely allied to Cuzco, and as nearby as Angaraes there were areas that had never been conquered. If Cajamarca was not to be abandoned, the whole of central Peru would have to be conquered to hold it. Pachacuti took his most magnificent gamble when he instructed Topa Capac that Cajamarca was to be held.

The expedition's first task was the subjugation of Quechuas. We are not informed whether the Quechuas had actually asserted their independence or whether the Incas created an incident in order to incorporate them into the Empire. In any case, Topa Capac stormed

the forts of Tohara, Cayara and Curamba and went on to Angaraes. Here he took two more forts and captured the leader of the resistance, a chief named Chuquisguaman. Further north he conquered permanently the valleys of Jauja and Huaylas and marched to Cajamarca where he found the garrison well and the land peaceful, in spite of repeated attacks by Minchançaman who had not underestimated the importance of dislodging the Incas from Cusmanco's old domain.

Cajamarca was now firmly linked with Cuzco, but it could not be considered secure as long as the power of Chimor remained. Topa Capac therefore divided his forces, sending a small expedition to explore the road to Chachapoyas and the bulk of his army to invade Chimor. This latter column went south to Huamachuco and then descended the Moche river to Chimor; Minchançaman put up a bitter but unavailing resistance. From Chimor the Incas turned up the coast to Pacasmayo, raided some of the other valleys, and returned to Cajamarca by way of Niepos. The military power of Chimor was broken forever.

The Inca expeditionary force now turned north for a long campaign in what is now Ecuador, and the shattered coast was left in peace for a year. After conquering Quito and Manta the Inca army reentered the Kingdom of Chimor at Tumbez where Topa Inca, now taking a greater part in the command, had a fort built. Thence it went on to Pohechos where the army was again divided. Topa Inca and Topa Capac went up to Huancabamba for some more exploring and Auqui Yupanqui and Tillca Yupanqui continued down the coast to finish the occupation of Chimor. In Jayanca they were treacherously attacked by the Penachies who lived on the mountain slopes; the governor of Jayanca was blamed for it and arrested. The Incas looted Chimor, taking enormous riches, and carried Minchançaman off to Cajamarca and from there to Cuzco when the reunited expedition went home at the end of the campaign.

The plunder from this campaign was the richest ever brought to Cuzco, and most of it came from Chimor. Pachacuti used it to make statues of the Creator, Tecsi Viracocha; of the Sun; and of Mama Oollo, legendary ancestress of the Inca dynasty, and to make a great band of gold to put on the wall of the Temple of Coricancha. It would be interesting to know what percentage of the loot (over

\$8,000,000 worth of gold) that the Spaniards took from Cuzco in 1533 had been brought from Chimor seventy years before.²⁰

Whether the difference in military power between Cuzco and Chimor was one of numbers, of weapons, or of leadership, it was sufficiently great so that the outcome of the war was never really in doubt. Pachacuti had the striking force to attack Chimor, but Minchançaman could not attack Cuzco. Why there should be this difference between two kingdoms of about the same size is an interesting problem to ponder over; perhaps whatever weakness was responsible for the near depopulation of the coast in early Colonial times was already making itself felt.

Inca administration of the conquered kingdom was very shrewd. At first, its integrity and constitution were respected; Minchançaman was kept in honored exile at Cuzco, and a son of his was appointed to the throne as Inca puppet. This son was named Chumun-caur; he was living at Huaura with his mother, Chanquir-guanguan, at the time of the Inca conquest. Chumun-caur was succeeded by his son Guaman-chumo whose name is part Quechua (*waman* means falcon) and who was probably educated in Cuzco, that being the normal Inca policy. His son Anco-cuyuch succeeded him at Chimor, but by his time the unity of the kingdom had been subverted by the ingenious policy of setting up each son of the old dynasty as hereditary lord of a town or valley. The valleys that did not receive new princely lords continued under the families that the kings of Chimor had appointed in the old days, but these families learned to look directly to Cuzco instead of to Chimor, and by the time the Spaniards came the old kingdom was only a memory. Lambayeque and Jayanca were ruled by families of this latter type.²¹

The kingdom of Chimor was superior in organization and culture to anything the Incas had ever seen at the time they conquered it, and they learned eagerly from their new subjects. We know too little about the constitution of Chimor to be sure just what administrative

²⁰ The details of the Inca conquest are taken from Cabello ms., III, 16-18. The other chroniclers all tell the story in a more summary manner. See Sarmiento, 1942, ch. 38 and 46; Cieza, 1943, ch. 56-58; Cobo, XII, 13; Pachacuti, 1927, pp. 181-193. On the loot, see Lothrop, 1938, pp. 59-62.

²¹ Vargas Ugarte, 1936, pp. 231-233 and footnote 2 above.

principles the Incas borrowed, but one of them was probably the system of governing through a hereditary local nobility. The political organization of the Inca empire seems to have been worked out by Topa Inca after the conquest of Chimor, and he must have had the experience of Taycanamo's descendants as his principal model. In matters of general culture the Incas probably learned the use of the rectangular town plan, mass production methods, certain metal working techniques and refinements at least in tapestry weaving and feather cloth making from the people of Chimor. North coast workmen were much respected and a colony of them was established at Cuzco to work directly for the imperial government.²²

The prestige of Chimu culture shows negatively also in the scantiness of Inca style buildings or artifacts on the north coast. Instead of great buildings like the Mamacona and cemeteries filled with pure Inca style pottery such as have been found at Pachacamac, in the old kingdom of Chimor there are only some slight influences of shape in the local pottery. By archaeological evidence alone it would be very difficult to establish an "Inca period" in the area.

One of the most important measures taken by the Incas to promote the unity of the Empire was the shifting of population from one province to another. This policy was applied to Chimor as to other conquered areas, but we have no information on the settlers who were brought in to the north coast. However, Father Carrera gives a list of the colonies of people speaking Muchic which the Incas established in the Cajamarca area and in which the language was still spoken in the early 17th century; it includes Santa Cruz at the headwaters of the River Reque; Niepos on the upper Saña River; San Miguel and San Pablo on the upper Jequetepeque; Cachen above Jayanca, and Balsas del Marañón where the road from Cajamarca to Chachapoyas crosses the Marañón River. In addition, he says that there were other Muchic towns in the Province of Huambos (i. e. around Cutervo) and in the valley of Condebamba.²³

We can get a glimpse of how the people of Chimor lived thanks to the researches of Father Calancha and a few hints from Carrera's grammar. Calancha says that his material refers specifically to the

²² Cieza, 1943, cap. 58, p. 269.

²³ Carrera, 1939, pp. 8-9.

valley of Pacasmayo but also represents the culture of the north coast in general.

Carrera gives two words for ruler: *alæc*, cacique, and *cie quic*, great lord. The former was probably the title of the feudal lords of the various valleys; it is quite probable that the latter was one of the titles of the King of Chimor. *Cie* means lord, or lady, and was probably a title of respect used to any superior; the suffix *quic* seems to be used to limit a general word to an individual person or object, as *uiz*, earth; *uiz quic*, cultivated field. The extension of its meaning from "individual" or "particular" to "notable, great" is easy enough to understand. Other preserved words of social status are *fixllca*, gentleman; *paræng*, vassal or subject, and *yana*, domestic servant. The latter word is interesting, as *yana*, with accent on the next to the last syllable, means "servant" in Quechua, in which language it is a homonym of the word for "black", without any necessary derivational connection. It seems highly probable that the Quechua word for servant is borrowed from Muchic, or vice versa; a good case could be made for borrowing in either direction. If the word originated in Muchic it is quite possible that the Incas borrowed the idea of a social class of public servants from a similar institution in the Kingdom of Chimor; the "if" is a big one, however. Evidently differences between social classes were great and immutable on the north coast, for the creation legend told at Pacasmayo relates that two stars gave rise to the kings and nobles and two others to the common people.²⁴

The list of courtiers that Nam-lap was supposed to have brought with him to Lambayeque is probably a reflection of the official train maintained by the feudal lords of a later day and a rather pale reflection of the sumptuous court of the King of Chimor. Cabello lists the following functionaries: Pituzofi, Blower of the Shell Trumpet; *Ninacola*, Master of the Litter and Throne; *Ninagintue*, Royal Cellarer; *Fonga*, Preparer of the Way (he scattered sea-shell dust where his lord was about to walk); *Occhocalo*, Royal Cook; *Xam-muchec*, Steward of the Face Paint; *Ollopopoc*, Master of the Bath; and *Llapchiluli*, Purveyor of Feather-cloth Garments.²⁵

²⁴ Carrera, 1939, pp. 33, 63, 69; Calancha, 1638, bk. III, ch. 2, pp. 553-554.

²⁵ Cabello Balboa ms., III, 17, pp. 510-513. My translations are deliberately somewhat fanciful in form, albeit accurate enough in substance.

Some fragments of the Muchic kinship system are preserved by Carrera; the care and detail with which he translates some of the terms make it all the more exasperating that he did not complete the list. Here is what we have:

- ñofæn* — man
- mecherræc* — woman, wife
- ef* — father
- eng* — mother
- eiz* — son or daughter
- co cæd* — aunt or older sister (man speaking)
- uxllur* — brother, younger sister, nephew, niece (man speaking)
- ñier* — uncle or older brother (woman speaking)
- chang* — sister, younger brother, nephew or younger niece (woman speaking)
- ñang* — husband
- yquiss* — father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law or sister-in-law (man speaking)
- pon* — sister-in-law (man or woman speaking)
- ciecyæng, cyecy mædchang, chang cæd* — no translations given.²⁶

The terms for ascendants and descendants are the same for both sexes, but for collaterals they vary with the sex of the speaker. There is also a distinction in terminology between older persons and younger ones, and a tendency to class nephews and nieces with younger siblings. The system of classification seems to be roughly similar to that of Quechua, but with many differences of detail. Our information is not sufficient to justify conclusions about the social system, but it does not conflict with other suggestions that women had nearly equal rights with men —an interesting thought, as the position of women was theoretically somewhat inferior among the Incas.

The legal system of Chimor seems to have provided even more brutal punishments than that of the Incas, probably on the theory that the fear of punishment would prevent crime. Disrespect to shrines or civil disobedience was punished by burying the traitor alive with bones of other traitors and unclean animals. Adulterers were thrown from cliffs (as among the Incas; this may be an Inca law). Separate foot-

²⁶ Carrera, 1939, pp. 16, 69.

paths were provided for men and women, and one who walked on a footpath of the other sex was punished like a man who attacked a maiden. There was a rather remarkable preoccupation with stealing, and the punishment of thieves was a religious as well as a civil matter as if property were a divine right —as the nobles quite possibly believed it was. When a robbery was discovered, they set up a pole beside the road hung with ears of maize as a warning and to arouse the neighborhood. Sacrifices were made to the Moon and to the constellation of Patá (Orion's Belt) to entreat their aid in finding the thief, and diviners were consulted. When the thief was found, he and his father and brothers were turned over to the injured man for execution. A man who sheltered a thief was considered equally guilty and suffered the same punishment. They explained the dark of the moon by saying that she was in the other world punishing thieves. Curers (Oquetupuc) were public officials. They were paid a regular wage by the state, and were highly privileged; their curing was done mostly with herbs. If a curer lost a patient through ignorance, however, he was put to death by beating and stoning. His body was tied to that of his dead patient by a rope and the latter was buried; the curer was left above ground to be eaten by birds. The north coast people were much addicted to sodomy, practicing it both with men and women. The Incas regarded it as an abominable vice and tried to stamp it out by destroying the family and property of guilty persons.

The marriage ceremony is interesting in that it stressed the equality of the two parties. When the interested parties had assembled, the bride and groom appeared. A new pot filled with maize flour and llama fat was placed between them and burned under their care. Then the sponsor declared them married and exhorted them to work together and treat each other as equals.

Our only other bit of information on the life-cycle deals with burial. After death there was a five day mourning period; then the body was washed and buried with the knees drawn up. People believed that the dead would intercede for them.

North coast religion was basically similar to that of the Incas but differed in many details. Calancha says nothing about a great creator god corresponding to the Inca *Illa Teqsi Wiracocha*, and the people of Chimor probably had none. Carrera translates "creator" literally,

making a word *aipac* from the verb "to make" which he uses as a title of God in his catechism, and Larco Hoyle assumes that it was the name of the native high god, but this is merely a piece of wishful thinking.²⁷

In Pacasmayo at any rate the Moon (Si) was the greatest divinity. The weather and the growth of the crops were attributed to her and she was believed to be more powerful than the sun because she appeared by night and by day. Eclipses of the sun were celebrated with rejoicing as victories of the Moon, but eclipses of the Moon were occasions of mourning and the performance of sorrowful dances. The great temple of the Moon was Si-an (House of the Moon) in Pacasmayo valley; here sacrifices were made to her. Her devotees sacrificed their own children, believing that the children were thereby deified. They were sacrificed at the age of about five years, on piles of colored cottons with offerings of fruit and chicha. Animals and birds were also sacrificed to the Moon.

The Sun was evidently considered to be a very inferior supernatural being, but he was believed to be the father of the holy stones called *alæc-pong* that we will speak of below. Several constellations were important, however, such as Patá (Orion's Belt). This constellation is a row of three stars; the people of Chimor believed that the middle one was a thief and that the ones on the sides were emissaries of the Moon, sent to feed him to the buzzards, represented by the four stars immediately below. An even more important constellation was Fur (the Pleiades). It was the patron of agriculture and watched over the crops. The year was calculated by observations of this constellation; each appearance of the constellation marked the beginning of a new year. Neither sun nor moon were taken into account in the calendar. The Morning and Evening Stars (two aspects of Venus) were called Ni (the same word used for the sea); we do not know whether or not Venus was worshipped.

The Sea (Ni) was a very important divinity and sacrifices of white maize flour, red ochre and other things were made to it along with prayers for fish and protection against drowning. No fish were sacred

²⁷ Carrera, 1939, p. 68; Larco Hoyle, 1946, p. 171. If Strong (1947, pp. 453-482) has any evidence to support his adoption of Larco's "god Aiapae" concept, I would very much like to see it.

except the whale which impressed people by its size; all the rest were merely food.

Calancha also describes certain stones to which divinity was attributed and which were called *alæc-pong* (cacique stone). They seem to have stood out in the open and were probably just natural boulders. The story went that they were sons of the Sun and ancestors of the people in whose district they stood; the Sun had turned them into stone in anger because of the death of their mother. These *alæc-pong* correspond very closely to the *wanka* or field-guardians of Inca religion.

As in other parts of Peru there were local shrines in each district, each with its sacred object of worship (*macyæc*) its legend and its cult; such shrines are usually called huacas. They varied in importance from great temples like Chot down to the homes of popular witches like one named Mollep (The Lousy) described by Calancha. Mollep lived at Coslechec in Talambo (Pacasmayo) and was extremely dirty; he told the people that as his lice multiplied so would they! The prosecution of idolaters in the 17th century produced some interesting reports on native religion, and especially descriptions of many typical huacas. In Huacho, for example, there was one called Gold Urinal, for what reason is not clear, where the cult object was a great carved stone nine feet across. Another huaca, called Corquin, held a variety of cult objects: a long, scabby-looking stone to which sacrifice was made for protection against smallpox, mange, and leprosy; a small idol of green stone representing an ancestor; and three small green stones which were believed to be the ancestors of wheat, lima beans and chili pepper. The wheat ancestor, of course, must have been invented after the conquest.²⁸

As among the Incas, fasting on the north coast consisted of abstaining from salt, chili pepper and sexual intercourse; in times of famine the people not only fasted themselves but made even their domestic animals (dogs, guinea pigs and ducks) fast too.

The gods appeared to their faithful worshippers at feasts and dances and gave oracles in the huacas. The appearances of certain birds, notably the owl and the birds called *pocpoc* and *fiñ*, were inter-

²⁸ Calancha, 1638, III, 14, pp. 606-7; Medina, 1920, pp. 89-94.

preted as omens. There were numerous witches, both men and women, and Calanca quotes from Luis de Teruel an impressive description of a meeting of some sort of witches guild at Huaman which involved ceremonial cannibalism and ended with a sexual orgy. One witch was believed to be able to turn himself into a dog or an owl, while another one went into a trance and claimed he had been to a place about two miles away while he was unconscious.²⁹

The material culture of Chimor could be reconstructed in large part from archaeological remains, as the dry climate of the north coast preserves much that is perishable in wetter regions. Late Chimu material is so abundant, both in Peru and in museums in other parts of the world, that it is a distinct shock to find, on looking over the literature, that except for superficial studies of the pottery nothing has been done with it. The reasons are not far to seek: the attractions of the great art of earlier periods; the fascination of looking for something "really old", and the preoccupation of most peruvianists with pottery sequences are the principal reasons. Indeed, the study of such abundant and accessible material looks like such an obvious and important problem that I rather think that most of my colleagues have tacitly assumed that somebody must have done it and that we really know all about Late Chimu archaeology.

The north coast is littered with cities like Chanchan (Chimor) and Ciudad de la Barranca in Pacasmayo, with temples and houses and irrigation ditches and cemeteries, many of them of the Late Chimu period and some earlier. Aside from a few graves which Bennett dug and a few sketch plans by Squier and Bandalier and Kroeber it is all unstudied. Chimu architecture has suffered from the same difficulty that held back archaeology in Palestine and Syria for so long; it is built of adobe and lacks the fascination of carved stone. But whatever the material it is a very impressive architecture. These people built on an enormous scale, with great skill and after careful planning. Many of the temples are built on great artificial mounds and the cities have straight streets and irrigated gardens between the buildings. Tasteful arabesques and friezes were modelled on the wall surfaces in relief, in

²⁹ Carrera, 1939, pp. 68, 75; Calanca, 1638, III, 18, pp. 628-633. Except as otherwise credited above, this whole description of north coast customs is taken from Calanca, 1638, III, 2. See also the summary in Means, 1931, pp. 60-63.

the same adobe mud that was used in construction, and many of the walls were probably painted.

Minor arts show the same cultural interests as the architecture. The large size and careful planning of the buildings is matched by a mass-production of decorative and technically excellent textiles, pots, metal objects, carved wood, and jewelry in turquoise, shell, and colored stones. The men of Chimor were not great artists, but they were superlative engineers and craftsmen, and they produced in great quantities. Production was not, as in earlier periods, for religious use for the dead or for a few noble families, but for daily life and for the people.

The Inca rule on the north coast brought over fifty years of peace and material well-being which were poor preparation for the shock and strain of the civil war between Huascar and Atahuallpa which started soon after the death of Huayna Capac in 1525 and lasted until the coming of the Spaniards in 1532, the Spanish conquest, and the twenty years of looting and revolution which followed it. Cieza de León who travelled along the coast in 1548 describes valley after valley as scarcely populated but with many signs of dense population in ancient times, and attributes the decline to the effects of these wars (Cieza, 1922, ch. 67-71).

A more spectacular and easily chronicled disaster struck the valleys in 1578 when unprecedented rains and floods destroyed houses, crops, fields, and irrigation ditches. About the time the ditches were repaired the locusts arrived and ate all the waters had left, leaving the Indians starving. Their Spanish encomenderos tried to collect tribute as if nothing had happened, even levying the tribute of the dead on the survivors; the Indians brought suit for relief before the Audiencia in Lima and an investigation was ordered in 1579.³⁰

A cultural blow almost as severe as the economic ones we have just noticed was the great campaign against idolatry of the first half of the 17th century. Nearly one hundred years after the conquest the Catholic clergy discovered to its horror that the great majority of the Indians who had been considered converted to Christianity were still practicing their ancient religion under cover of a superficial observance of Christian forms. The Archbishop of Lima sent out teams of

³⁰ Cabero, 1906, pp. 496-502. The final decision of the Audiencia is not given.

inspectors to find and destroy native cult objects wherever they could be found and the church redoubled its efforts to prepare preachers who could reach the Indians in their own languages. The ancient religion was never wholly stamped out among the Indians, but Christianity became a much greater force in the country after 1650 than before. The campaign was most intensive along the coast, and was probably a prime factor in the decline of Chimu culture.

The campaign against idolatry was important for another reason: the reports of the inspectors sent out by the church are invaluable ethnological documents, and the information that they unearthed about native customs made possible the excellence of many of the 17th century chronicles. Calancha, for example, repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness to idolatry reports which have since been lost. And it was the same impulse that produced the idolatry reports which induced Carrera to write his *Muchic grammar*.

It is perfectly clear that the ancient culture was very much alive in the first half of the seventeenth century. There had been some accommodating to the new masters of the land, and a certain amount of cultural borrowing fitted into the pattern of Indian life; the case mentioned above of the small green stone which was worshipped as the "mother of wheat" is a good illustration of the type of adjustment made. We can say with assurance that whenever the Indians of the north coast changed over from a culture of aboriginal pattern with a few Spanish trimmings to one of mixed Spanish and Indian type it was well after 1600.

The persistence of native culture in the early Colonial period has some very important archaeological implications which have been noted previously but are very easily lost sight of. Not only did religious customs and farming techniques survive, but at least the minor arts did also, and we may expect to find pottery, textiles, metal work, and other products of native craftsmanship manufactured in the old style under Spanish rule. I venture to guess that many Late Chimu pieces in our museums now considered just pre-conquest were actually made as much as a century after Pizarro's landing; unless they happened to contain some borrowed European trait there would be no way of telling their date. The American Museum of Natural History

possesses a typical Late Chimu pot covered with European type glaze, and I have seen other similar specimens.³¹

The ancient feudal dynasties survived the conquest too, although their importance was much reduced by the decline in Indian population and by the imposition of a Spanish aristocracy. The dynasty of Lambayeque survived at least until the late 18th century, and its history is exceptionally well known through the records of a lawsuit about the succession which produced voluminous testimonies and genealogical trees. It is quite evident from the bitterness with which the case was fought that there were solid economic and social advantages to be gained even under the Bourbons from recognition as the heir of a governor appointed in the 15th century by the King of Chimir (Vargas Ugarte, 1942b).

The dynasty of the kings of Chimir themselves can be traced only until 1604, and not in much detail at that. The lord of Chimir at the time of the Spanish conquest was Caja-çimçim, a brother of Ancocuyuch who succeeded at his death. Caja-çimçim became a Christian, taking the name of Don Martín; when he died he was buried in the church of Santa Ana at Trujillo, but his rest there was brief. His subjects had accepted the forms of Christianity to please their new masters, but the old religion was strong in them as it probably had been in Don Martín also. The night after his burial they dug him up in secret and carried him away for burial after the rites of his ancestors, and the Spaniards were never able to discover where he had been laid.

Six Christian caciques followed Don Martín, down to 1604 when Don Antonio Chayguar, his descendant, was carrying on the ancient line. Our record ends there, but there is no reason to suppose that Don Antonio was the last of the house of Taycanamo and it is perfectly possible that there are families yet in the valley of Chimir who carry the royal genes (see note 2).

The power and the splendor of old Chimir, its tradition and its language are forever gone. But the descendants of Minchançaman's subjects still people the ancient valleys and their culture still contains many survivals of the old ways. The recent study of the modern

³¹ The AMNH specimen was called to my attention by Junius Bird. Such pieces have usually been classed as fakes and consigned to an unmerited oblivion. See also Kroeber, 1926, p. 41.

community of Moche by John Gillin gives us our first glimpse of just how much is really left, and Gillin makes it clear that Moche is far from being the most conservative of the north coast villages.³²

The Kingdom itself has left a trace in a vague feeling of solidarity felt by the inhabitants of what Gillin calls the "Mochica Villages"—Moche, Huaman, Huanchaco and Simbal in Chimor; Guañape in Virú; Chao; Magdalena de Cao and Santiago de Cao in Chicama; Eten, Monsefú, San José, Santa Rosa, Reque, Mórrope, Motupe, Jayanca and Salas in Lambayeque. It is rather curious that no village of Pacasmayo is mentioned (pp. 6-7). The equality of women (p. 74) is an old trait and so are country house types, many features of agriculture, cooking and diet (p. 154), fishing from reed balsas (p. 35) and certain uses of fish nets and lines (p. 155). Spinning and weaving are gone in Moche but preserved in more northerly towns like Monsefú in their ancient forms (p. 155, pl. 17). The whole theoretical basis of curing and magic and most of the techniques are almost certainly ancient (pp. 115-142). The detailed list of survivals would fill more than a page, and could be greatly extended if we knew more of Chimu archaeology. Indeed, the chief parts of the modern culture which are of wholly Spanish origin are such things as political and legal forms, dress, and formal religion, the adoption of which was necessary for survival. Prolonged resistance of the native villages to absorption in the generalized mestizo or creole culture will be difficult, however, because of the total loss of the Indian language, perhaps the most powerful instrument for self-protection that an Indian group can have.

Still, the future is the realm of prophecy. All we can say with confidence is that Chimu culture is not yet dead, and that its present condition and the last four hundred years of its history offer hundreds of interesting problems which can be studied through community studies, patient searching of archives, and archaeology. We have only done enough to catch a glimpse of our own ignorance.

Popayán, Colombia.

³² Gillin, 1947. Because of the haste with which the report was written, Gillin missed much of the historical information collected in this paper and was not always aware which traits were of Chimu origin.

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